old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asũ'ŝ, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it °kxloŏ-kxloŏsũ'ŝ, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called °//gũ/ŝ, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, °/ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone°, °/uiams (always feminine

°The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kuiub there are two watering places next each other, °ǂkxanu-b and °ǂkxanu-s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1 [i.e., p. 130 of the translation.--Analyst]]

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[247]

Stone mill for hand use. 1/4 natural size.

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nõǂti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kpõ-/uis, and the flint, !nõ^ns (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the 324 [35] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1906.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !haǂi-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /ui!k‡ōb, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call !ha· bes. 324 276

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available. 325 301 [439]

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, !ganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a. 325 301 53

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross-lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

1 [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). —Ed.]

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[248]

a and b are bone tobacco pipes, c - e serpentine pipes of native design, f a serpentine pipe of European design.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[1] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 100-1; Allemão, loc. cit.; Schinz, op. cit., 504, 648.

[1] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively common herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ocyta. – Ed.]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[1]

322 [177] Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced among the Naman by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, */nara* drills, walking sticks and kirris are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[2]

321 Spoons and *kuchu* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of stone implements 324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that [illegible] it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a handmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Grevenbroek, op. cit., 10–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 244–6; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

which roots, coffee beans, *buchu* herbs, mineral substances, etc., are ground down with a flat stone.[1]

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2]

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated gemsbok horn nozzles were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already in close contact with the Bantu peoples. The possibility of borrowing therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 247-8; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 22.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 177-8.
[3] "Reports and Diaries of Henry Hugh Tredinnick," 93.